THE DAILY REGISTER.

VOL. LII. RALEIGH, TUESDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 24, 1850. NO. 81.

THE DAILY REGISTER.

SEATON GALES,
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

THE SEMI-WEEKLY REGISTER,
Is issued on Wednesdays and Saturdays at $4 per annum in advance; $4,50 if not paid within six months; and $5 if not paid until the expiration of the year.

THE WEEKLY REGISTER,
Is issued every Wednesday at $2,50 if paid within four months; otherwise $3.

BUSINESS DIRECTORY.

RALEIGH POST OFFICE.

MAIL ARRANGEMENTS.

Northern Mail—By Rail Road, Due daily at 1-2 p. m., and closes at 11½ a. m.

Southern—Two horse stage, due daily at 11 a. m., closes at 12 m.

Greensborough—Four-horse stage, due Monday, Wednesday and Saturday at 6 a. m., and closes Sunday, Wednesday and Friday at 12 m.

Newbern—Four-horse stage, due Wednesday, Friday and Sunday at 3 a. m., and closes Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday at 9 p. m.

Turborough—Two-horse stage, due Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 10 p. m., closes Monday, Wednesday and Saturday at 9 p. m.

Pittsborough—Two horse stage, due Monday and Thursday at 7 p. m., and closes Saturday and Tuesday at 9 p. m.

Roxborough—One-horse mail, Due Friday at 9 a. m., and closes Friday at 1 p. m.

Holly Springs—Horse Mail, due Monday at 4 p. m., and closes Thursday at 9 p. m.

Letters should be in the Office fifteen minutes before the time of closing.

The Office will be open every day, except Sunday, from 8 o'clock a. m. until 9 p. m.

On Sunday, it will be open from 8½ to 9½ a. m., and one hour directly after the departure of the Western Mail.

TELEGRAPH OFFICE,

UP STAIRS,
SMITH'S BUILDINGS,
FAYETTEVILLE STREET.
Open from 7 A. M. to 10 P. M.
NO ADMITTANCE WITHIN THE BAR!!

Rates	First 10 words,	Ea'h addi'l w'd.
Raleigh to Petersburg,	30 cts.	2
" " Richmond	32 "	2
" " Washington	44 "	2
" " Baltimore	54 "	3
" " Philadelphia	74 "	5
" " New York	84 "	6
" " Fayetteville	21 "	1
" " Cheraw	28 "	1
" " Charleston	50 "	3
" " Macon	97 "	5
" " Montgomery	116 "	6
" " Mobile	138 "	7
" " New Orleans	172 "	9

And all the places on this and other lines of communication in proportion to distance.

LIFE
OF THE NORTH CAROLINA
Mutual Insurance Company,
RALEIGH

Second Floor, Smith's Block, adjoining Telegraph Office.

LIFE
OF THE NORTH CAROLINA
Mutual Life Insurance Company,
RALEIGH

Opposite the Post Office—under Odd Fellows Hall.

BANK OF CAPE FEAR.

DISCOUNT DAY, TUESDAY.
Board Meets at 11 O'clock.
BANKING HOURS FROM 10 TO 2.
W. H. JONES, Cashier.
F. C. HILL, Teller.

Exchange, Baltimore, Philadelphia and N. York, 1 per ct. premium.

Virginia and South Carolina money Bankable, of the denomination of $5 and upwards.

BANK OF THE STATE.
OFFICERS OF THE BANK.

Geo. W. Mordecai, Pres't.
Charles Dewey, Casher,
Seymour W. Whiting, Teller
Daniel DaPre, Bookkeeper,
Thos. W. Dewey, Clerk.

Hours of business from 10 a. m. to 2 p. m.
DISCOUNT DAY, WEDNESDAY.
Board of Directors meet at 10 a. m.

BANK RATES FOR SELLING EXCHANGE.
Sight Checks on New York 1 per cent. Premium.
" " " Philadelphia 1 " " "
" " " Baltimore 1 " " "

Notes of the South Carolina and Virginia Banks received.

J. D. WILLIAMS,

FORWARDING AND COMMISSION
MERCHANT,
FAYETTEVILLE,
NORTH CAROLINA.

July 1 9th, 1850. 6

NEW BOOK STORE,
POMEROY & O'NEAL.

No, 16, Fayetteville St., Nearly Opposite the Post Office.
RALEIGH, N. C.

ARE now receiving an extensive assortment of Law, Medical, Theological, Miscellaneous and School Books, generally, Annuals and choice Books for Presents, Novels, Stationery of all kinds, which we are selling at the very lowest prices; prices which we are confident must give entire satisfaction. Call and examine.

W. L. POMEROY,
J. W. O'NEAL.

Dec., 9th, 1850. 95

COPARTNERSHIP.

THE Subscribers have this day formed a Copartnership in a general business as

Booksellers and Stationers,

and will continue to carry on the business under the name and Firm of

POMEROY & O'NEAL.

Raleigh, December 9th, 1850. 99

WISTARS BALSAM OF WILD CHERRY.

A large supply of Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry just received and for sale by

P F PESCUD.

Dec. 9th, 1850. 99
☞ Standard copy.

AYERS CHERRY PECTORAL.

A fresh supply of Ayers Cherry Pectoral just received and for sale by

P. F. PESCUD.

ALSO

A Large supply of Linseed Oil just to hand at Pescud's DRUG STORE.

Dec. 9th, 1850. 99
☞ Standard copy.

BANK OF THE
STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

A DIVIDEND of FIVE PER CENT on the Capital stock of this Bank, has been declared for the last six months—payable at the Principal Bank on the first Monday in January next and at the Branches fifteen days thereafter.

C. DEWEY, Cashier.

Raleigh, December 11th, 1850. td 100
Star, Times, and Standard copy.

See R. R. R. R.*

To the Citizens of N. Carolina particularly.

WE can measure and furnish an entire suit of clothes (including coat, pantaloons, and vest,) at from 35 to $14; and will warrant them to be equal in all respects to any that can be furnished in the United States for that money. Gentlemen need no longer send out of the State for cheap Clothing, unless they prefer it.

OLIVER & PROCTER.

Raleigh, Nov. 8. 1850. 90

* Royal Raleigh Ringtail Rousers.

SOUTHERN REGALIA DEPOT!

P. HORTON KEACH,
No. 91, Main Street, Richmond, Va.,

MANUFACTURER of Masonic, Odd Fellows, Sons of Temperance, Rechabites, American Mechanics, Druids, Red Mens, and all other societies *REGALIA, BANNERS, FLAGS, SIGNALS,* &c., also, *Costumes, Robes, Sashes, Jewels,* and all other Equipments on hand and made to order at short notice.

N. B.—Having secured the services of Mr. HENRY MESEKE, familiarly connected with the different orders, and well known in Baltimore as a *superior workman* in the above line, I am now prepared to compete with any establishment in the U. States, in either style, quality or price.

Orders from abroad respectfully solicited.

December 2nd, 1850. 8

ST. MARY'S SCHOOL,
RALEIGH, N. C.

THE 18th Term of this School will commence on the Fourth day of January 1851, and continue till the 7th of June.

For a Circular containing full particulars, apply to the Subscriber.

ALDERT SMEDES, Rector.

December 4th, 1850. 98

☞ Standard, Fayetteville Observer, Chronicle, Commercial and Journal, Wilmington, Newbernian, Watchman, Salisbury, N. S. Whig, Washington, Old North State, E. City, Petersburg Intelligencer, Norfolk Herald and National Intelligencer, will insert five times, and send their bill to A. S.

Livery Stables!

THE Subscribers, take occasion to inform their friends and the public generally, that they will carry on the business, in all its branches, at the same stand; and that no efforts nor expense will be spared on their part to accommodate the travelling community. Conveyances, with good horses and careful drivers, will be furnished at all times and at short notice; and in fact, every convenience for traveling, in the way of

HORSES, CARRIAGES, BUGGIES, &C.,

will be supplied on the most favorable and accomodating terms.

The Subscribers also expect to keep constantly on hand, good

HORSES, BUGGIES, CARRIAGES, &C.,
FOR SALE.

And persons wishing to put out their Horses by the week or month, or year, will have them well attended to, at moderate prices. Their Stables are on Wilmington Street, just to the East of Market Square.

Hoping to receive liberal encouragement, the undersigned pledge themselves to do all in their power to merit public patronage and favor.

BUFFALOE & COOKE

BUSINESS COATS.

125 CHEAP TWEED COATS, at a very low price.

E. L. HARDING & CO.

Raleigh, October 12th, 1850. 82

Dress and Frock Coats.

100, JUST OPENED, of all qualities well cut and extremely well made.

E. L. HARDING & CO.

Raleigh, October 12th, 1850. 82

LADIES White Kid Slippers,
do do Satin do
do Black Kid do
do do do Walking Shoes.

Just received by R. TUCKER & SON.
Oct. 21, 1850. 85

DIARY AND DAILY
Pocket Remembrance, for 1850.

FOR the use of Private Families and Persons of business; containing an Almanac and Banking Table, Counting House Almanac, and a Blank space for memorandums, for every day in the year.

For Sale at the
N. C. BOOKSTORE.

Raleigh Nov. 12th, 1850.

SECOND SUPPLY OF
Cloth, Dress and Frock Coats.

GENTLEMEN, if you want a good fitting Coat, made in the latest style, Call at

E. L. HARDING & CO.

New Music Book.

CANTICA LAUDIS, or the American book of Church Music. By Lowell Mason and Geo. Webb.

ALSO
THE HOME ALTAR.

AN Appeal in behalf of Family Worship, with Prayers and Hymns, for family use. By the Rev. Charles F. Deems.

H. D. TURNER.

Nov. 8th, 1850. 90

CALF SKINS, LINING, &c.

O. L. BURCH keeps constantly on hand, Calf Skins, Lining Skins, Shoe finding, &c. &c.

Raleigh, Oct. 4, 1850. 80

Heartt & Litchford
DEALERS IN STAPLE and FANCY
DRY GOODS.

HATS, CAPS, BOOTS, SHOES,
Fancy Articles, &c. &c.

HAVE received nearly their entire Stock of Fall and Winter Goods—to which they respectfully invite the attention of their friends and customers, and the public generally, and all of which are offered on the most reasonable terms.

Raleigh, Oct. 14th, 1850. 83

WHITE WASH BRUSHES.

A LARGE supply of various sizes, just received and for sale low.

WILLIAMS, HAYWOOD & CO.

Raleigh April 23d 1850. 33

L. B. WALKER.

HARD to beat for the accommodation of the citizens of Raleigh, would say that he has in his employ two as good workmen as can be procured anywhere. He has been at considerable expense in the Baking business, and will do all in his power to give satisfaction. It is with the citizens to say, whether or not a Bakery should be supported. At any rate, he will give the business a fair trial this Winter.

November 15th, 1850. 92

PEEBLES, WHITE & DAVIS,
Grocers and Commission Merchants
Old Street, Petersburg, Va,

KEEP always on hand a large and well assorted supply of Groceries, and pay particular attention to the sale of Cotton, Tobacco, Wheat, Flour, and all other kinds of produce.

LEMUEL PEEBLES,
THOMAS WHITE,
PETER R. DAVIS, Jr.

Petersburg July 20 58 1y

Just received by Express, this day, a lot of fine French Merinos, assorted colors, ALSO, a lot of Jenny Lind Trimmings.

EVANS & WILLIAMS.

Oct. 21st, 1850. 85

NOTICE.

APPLICATION will be made to the General Assembly, now in Session, to incorporate a Savings Bank, to be located in the town of Jackson, Northampton County.

Nov. 26th, 1850. 96 1w

GENTLEMEN'S HATS.
FALL STYLE FOR 1850.

SOMETHING entirely new and decidedly elegant. Call and examine.

R. TUCKER & SON.

August 26th, 1850. 89

TOBACCO AND SEGARS.

OF the best quality may be found at the Drug Store of WILLIAMS, HAYWOOD & CO.

November 21st. 94

FRESH ARRIVALS
SEMI-WEEKLY.

HARDING & CO. will receive new goods twice a week during the entire season, direct from the Manufactory. By this arrangement, purchasers will always find something new and attractive by examining their Stock. As for Bargains, Gents, you cant begin to buy as cheap elsewhere. Call and examine yourselves

Under the Telegraph Office,
Fayetteville street.

Raleigh, Nov. 14th, 1850 92

SPEECH OF
MR. GILMER, OF GUILFORD,
On Union and Secession.

MR. GILMER SAID:—He desired to discuss these questions, not as a Whig or a Democrat, but as a North Carolinian—as one whose feeling were with the South and whose interests were there, but who, banishing for the moment all party considerations and all sectional prejudice, would anxiously consider how the honor and the safety of the South might be secured, and if it could be done consistently with these, the Union be preserved. He wished to see erected a platform on which all true sons of N. Carolina could stand—to have embodied in resolutions or otherwise a sentiment which would strike a responsive chord in the breast of every patriot and enable the State to present an even and a steady front, in a crisis so delicate and so trying. It could not be doubted that N. Carolina intended to be true to herself; she only desired to be correctly informed of the posture of affairs, to know the extent of her grievances and the dangers which beset her, and the surest, safest and most honorable mode of escape.

In determining this momentous question, at a period so critical and exciting, heated passions and party prejudices should be banished from the Council Board; and opinions, purposes and determinations expressed in language becoming the gravity of the occasion and characteristic of the people for whom the representatives assume to speak.

He thought unanimity of sentiment all important, and to secure this he would willingly vote for the resolutions of any other gentleman which might meet with general approbation and best express the popular voice, although those introduced by himself defined his own views and the position which he preferred to occupy.

He respected the views and the motives of other gentlemen, wished to hear the opinions of all, and would even make sacrifices and yield his own predilections in favor of harmony and concert of action.

We should not, continued Mr. G., assume a position which we cannot maintain, we should not, nor will I consent, to go farther by resolutions than we can expect or ask the people to go in action. But before he advanced farther in the discussion he wished to make one personal allusion; and to request Senators not to judge of his feelings towards those from whom he differed, by the manner in which he might express himself in debate, and to be assured that whatever might be his warmth and zeal in urging his own opinions, he entertained for those to whom he might allude, and especially for the learned Senator from Pasquotank and Perquimans, (Mr. Shepard,) the most kindly feelings and a respect commensurate with his many excellent qualities as a man and public spirited citizen.

He believed that Senator would respect his motives when he expressed himself freely, frankly and boldly; and the Senator has himself declared that he has no respect for him "who withholds his real opinions from fear."

The picture which that Senator had drawn of the condition of the Southern States, at some future day, was well calculated to excite in Southern men, the most serious reflections. The past proves that the ratio of increase of the Blacks in the Slave States is greater than that of the Whites, and if we are to judge the future by the past it is to be expected that in the course of years, the Slaves in number will be much larger than owners, the disproportion between the two races, year after year, become greater.

Mr. G. said he could look into the future, and see probable difficulties such as had been indicated by the Senator. He believed from the signs of the times, that whilst the Southern States remained in the Union, they had little to encourage them to look for Slave territory, beyond the State of Texas. He assented to the probability, that the lines by which slavery is to be circumscribed, are already fixed.

But suppose the South had obtained an extension of the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific, (and he regretted that such was not the case) and the whole of California, New Mexico, and Utah, had by agreement been assigned to the Slave States, would not the same difficulties, which have been so graphically depicted, occur, in the end, if the institution of slavery is maintained? The horrors and dangers anticipated would only be deferred. He feared there was something in the prospect of the future, connected with this delicate subject, which Southern men could not contemplate with emotions of unmixed pleasure.

He feared that in process of time if slave labor should be applied to agricultural pursuits and found useful only, in cultivating the soil, as heretofore practiced in the South, the value of that species of property, the greater portion of Southern wealth, would inevitably depreciate in value, much to the injury of the States where it is employed.

Mr. G said he saw the free States increasing more rapidly than slave—he could see the power and influence of the free States growing rapidly, and that he could not shut his eyes to the possibility, that in the future, they may have the power and the disposition too, to amend the Constitution, so as to place the institution of slavery under the control of Congress. He could not say there was nothing in these anticipations, but he could not agree with the Senator that by remaining in the Union, the value of slave property was to be destroyed at so early a day as that fixed by him. A view of the immense territory within the States already secured to slavery, would seem to present a reasonable ground, with men less timid, to expect better things.

But, said Mr. G., as the Senator from Pasquotank has given such a frightful picture of our future history, *if we remained in the Union*, he would have been pleased, had he shewn us the other side, and pointed out in what particulars the situation and prospects of the slave States are to be benefitted by *seceding and going* out of the Union, if the compromise acts *as a whole*, are observed by the free States. Grant that more area is essential to the slave States in order to preserve our institution of slavery, he could not see that the chances for new fields, (more slave territory) were much bettered by being *out* of the Union instead of *in* it. Disunion would not impede the growth of the free States in numbers, power and wealth—it would not incline them to a more favorable regard for the interests of the South, nor would it be likely to secure, in a greater degree, the respect of the world, for an institution against which fanatics and white laborers are every where united.

The Senator has failed to shew how disunion will effect this state of things; and he has also failed even to indicate the manner in which secession, *Constitutional Secession*, would enable us to purchase, or acquire, in other words, an enlarged area for the profitable use of slaves. Supposing secession constitutional and peaceable—supposing the laws which organized and keep in motion this political frame-work, provided for the natural, peaceable and safe disruption of its parts—(a rather anomalous supposition this would be in physics, though all things are possible in politics when properly understood and judiciously expounded) —supposing that after the South had launched upon this career, without opposition or bloodshed, she had crossed securely all the bars, harmonized all the jarring elements at home, found a government to suit all the slave States, to please all the slave States, and to guard with equal care the interests of all the slave States—supposing that this beautiful picture, this Utopian project, which has been conceived in certain quarters without any purpose "to *deceive the people, and to carry out selfish and sinister purposes," could in the miraculous dispensations of Providence, and by the still more miraculous agency of political resolutions, be fully realized—what is the back ground to the picture? How far will its borders extend? Where are its borders? Why did the Senator fail to point them out? Why is the picture, at this most interesting point, so suddenly terminated, like a crack story in a Magazine, with the pregnant, but unsatisfactory sentence, *to be continued?* Continued where, when, how? *That* chapter, in this political romance, is not to be disclosed, I suppose, until the first has been read and realized.

He would not say that those who framed this interesting and original melo-drama had been too imaginative, had "listened with credulity to the whispers of fancy and pursued with eagerness the phantoms of hope"—but he would assert that those who should undertake to act it out seriously might possibly find it a laughable farce or a most dreary tragedy.

High authority informs us that "the ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully.

And he thought within himself, saying, what shall I do because I have no room where to bestow my fruits. And he said, this will I do, I will pull down my barns and build greater, and there will I bestow all my fruits and my goods.

And will say to my soul, soul thou hast many goods laid up for many years, take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry.

But God said unto him, *Thou fool, this night* thy Soul shall be required of thee; then where shall those things be which thou hast provided?

Mr. G. said he could see difficulties out of the Union as well as in it; and the very subject under discussion forbids allusion to many considerations which inclined him to fear that even among those who now speak indifferently of that Union, and of the warnings of Washington, the announcement of its actual dissolution would come more like the alarm of "a fire bell in the night," than the "noise of music and dancing."

Mr. G. said he was no submissionist in the sense in which that term was generally used—he was for submitting to tolerable and bearable evils —evils acknowledged on all sides to be now bearable, rather than to fly to others that he knew not of—rather than make one experiment now, attended with many possible calamities and to attain an undefined and at present undefinable good.

Still he would guard the future—he would look aheadat threatened dangers and prepare to meet them —he would have Senators while they acted cooly and deliberately, to act resolutely and firmly, and above all things unitedly and with a certain, fixed and practical purpose.

They should suit their remedies exactly to the present stage of the disease, prescribe a remedy which the patient, the people, can and will take, and which is not intended to risk their salvation as an attempted cure for a future and merely possible evil. He wished not to be misunderstood; he was for *any* remedy adequate to the disease of the times—that though the word *Union* had an influence over him, was entitled to his veneration and regard, still it had not so "steeped his senses in forgetfulness" as to cause him to neglect any duty he owed to his State—he was ready to stand or fall by that native State, but he desired her to be right, and protected in her rights.

Mr. G. said he submitted to the Senator, whether he had done justice to the views of Mr. Badger on the subject of allegiance. If he understands Mr. Badger, as insisting that on a case of extreme oppression or stern necessity, his allegiance would require him to take part with the General Government, he understands him differently from what he seems to have understood his own meaning to be. True, Mr. Badger claims the liberty of thinking and forming for himself an assurance whether this extreme case has come—and pray how are the true opinions of a majority of a State to be known correctly unless they are allowed first the liberty of thinking and then expressing their opinions? But Mr. Badger says, expressly, in that part of his Speech quoted by the Senator, that cases of unmitigated oppression or of dangerous and obstinate usurpations, constitute known and understood exceptions from the duty of submission to a Government and justify the oppressed in falling back upon the natural rights of resistance and self preservation. The Senator says that the majority of the State has a right to determine when a case of stern necessity has come, the "*ultima ratio*," and to force the minority into submission to their will, treating all who resist as rebels and traitors. These last words the Senator erased from his resolutions, because, as he said at the time, some of his friends thought they sounded harshly; but he did not wish to be considered as disavowing the principle. Let this doctrine be tested. Suppose a State, by a majority of one, resolve to secede, and the minority, if allowed to think, equally honest in its convictions with the majority—according to this seceding doctrine of primary and secondary allegiance, this minority have to submit to what they may deem the oppression of the majority or be hanged as traitors. And if to escape this fate they make common cause with the majority and are defeated, this same hanging fate must be their doom. Would there be here no intolerable oppression? Would there be any protection, any liberty, any rights to a minority of a State? States in a minority—in fact a single State must have a reserved sovereign right under the Federal Government, peaceably to secede when threatened with danger; and this is for the sake of liberty. Individuals in a minority in that State—one hundred thousand individuals *must* submit, at all hazards, and to whatever extremity to the domineering evil of one hundred thousand and one more, and this is also for the sake of liberty! That is to say, one hundred thousand and one men, of whatever character, standing, age, nation, or principles, have a right in a State to hang the remaining one hundred thousand, whatever be their respectability and character, and then to secede from a Union in which twenty millions of souls are interested, exposing the whole of them to the hazards of a civil war, to protect the interest and secure the liberties of this one hundred thousand and one! What a beautiful system of Government! How wise and wonderful and matchless its machinery.

This may be said to be an extreme case; it illustrates the principle and is therefore apposite.

In one word, minority States must have a right to secede from a Government which the seceders say is a compact of States; minorities of individuals, in a Government of individuals, have not even the *right*, the old-fashioned, the inalienable right of revolution! Now how would this doctrine work out? One hundred thousand and one declare for secession; one hundred thousand citizens think such decision a violation of their allegiance. This minority has to be hung; and then begins a war of extermination which might not end favourably to the majority. But suppose it does; and the hundred thousand are to be hung; and then the General Government, holding to the same majority doctrine, catches and hangs the hundred thousand and one!

Mr. G. said that he did not mean to ridicule or treat with levity the doctrines of the Senator from Pasquotank and Perquimans; he was tracing them to what he conceived to be their legitimate results and with as much fairness in his supposition as the Senator had used in handling the opinions of Mr. Badger. I have, said Mr. G. intimated that the Federal Government might not acknowledge the right of a State to secede from the Union to be a constitutional right or remedy; and it may be well to enquire whether such a doctrine has ever received the sanction of the authorized expounders of the Constitution of the United States, or was intended to be given by those who framed it. The Senator, advocating secession, argues that from it, there is no danger of a violent dismemberment of the Confederacy; and it would seem from the tenor of his remarks, drawing a distinction between it and the natural right of resistance or rebellion, that he thinks a State may thus peaceably and constitutionally assume the position which it held prior to the formation of the Federal Union. He admits the absurdity of nullification, but argues that secession is a very different thing and cannot be confounded with it "except by individuals who are willing to deceive the people to aid their selfish and sinister purposes."

Let us see who these individuals are. I hold in my hand, Sir, a letter, portions of which I will read to the Senate:

In order to understand the true character of the constitution of the United States, the error, not uncommon, must be avoided, of viewing it through the medium, either of a consolidated government, or of a confederated government, whilst it is neither the one nor the other; but a mixture of both. And having, in no model, the similitudes and analogies applicable to other systems of government, it must, more than any other, be its own interpreter according to its text and *the facts of the case.*

From these it will be seen that the characteristic peculiarities of the constitution are, 1, the mode of its formation; 2, the division of the supreme powers of government between the States in their united capacity, and the States in their individual capacities.

1. It was formed, not by the governments of the component States, as the federal government for which it was substituted was formed. Nor was it formed by a majority of the people of the United States, as a single community in the manner of a consolidated government.

"It was formed by the States, that is by the people in each of the States, acting in their highest sovereign capacity; and formed consequently by the same authority which formed the State Constitutions.

"Being thus derived from the same source as the constitutions of the States, it has, within each State, the same authority as the constitution of the State; and is as much a constitution, in the strict sense of the term, within its prescribed sphere, as the constitutions of the States are, within their respective spheres; but with this obvious and essential difference, that being a compact among the States in their highest sovereign capacity, and constituting the people thereof one people for certain purposes, it cannot be altered or annulled at the will of the States individually, as the constitution of a State may be at its individual will.

2. And that it divides the supreme powers of government, between the government of the United States, and the governments of the individual States, is stamped on the face of the instrument; the powers of war and of taxation, of commerce and of treaties, and other enumerated powers vested in the government of the United States, being of as high and sovereign a character, as any of the powers reserved to the State governments.

Nor is the government of the United States, created by the constitution, less a government in the strict sense of the term, within the sphere of its powers, than the governments created by the constitutions of the States are, within their several spheres. It is like them organized into legislative, executive and judiciary departments. It operates like them, directly on persons and things. And, like them, it has at command a physical force for executing the powers committed to it. The concurrent operation in certain cases, is one of the features marking the peculiarity of the system. * *

To have trusted to negotiation for adjusting disputes between the government of the United States and the State governments, as between independent and separate sovereignties, would have lost sight altogether of a constitution and government for the Union, and opened a direct road from a failure of that resort, to the ultima ratio between nations wholly independent of and alien to each other. If the idea had its origin in the process of adjustment, between separate branches of the same government, the analogy entirely fails. In the case of disputes between independent parts of the same government, neither party being able to consummate its will, nor the government to proceed without a concurrence of the parts, necessity brings about an accommodation. In disputes between a state government, and the government of the United States, the case is practically as well as theoretically different; each party possessing all the departments of an organized government, legislative, executive and judiciary; and having each a physical force to support its pretensions. Although the issue of negotiation might sometimes avoid this extremity, how often would it happen among so many states, that an unaccommodating spirit in some would render that resource unavailing. A contrary supposition would not accord with a knowledge of human nature, or the evidence of our own political history.

"The constitution, not relying on any of the preceding modifications, for its safe and successful operation, has expressly declared, on the one hand, 1, "That the constitution, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; 2, that the judges of every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution and laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding; 3, that the judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under the constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made under their authority;" &c.

"On the other hand, as a security of the rights and powers of the states, in individual capacities, against an undue preponderance of the powers granted to the government over them in their united capacity, the constitution has relied on, 1, the responsibility of the senators and representatives in the legislature of the United States to the legislatures and people of the states; 2, the responsibility of the President to the people of the United States; and 3, the liability of the executive and judicial functionaries of the United States to impeachment by the representatives of the people of the State, in one branch of the legislature of the United States, and trial by the representatives of the states, in the other branch: the state functionaries, legislative, executive and judicial being, at the same time, in their appointment and responsibility, altogether independent of the agency or authority of the United States * *

Should the provisions of the constitution as here reviewed, be found not to secure the government and rights of the states against the usurpations and abuses on the part of the United States, the final resort within the purview of the constitution lies in an amendment of the constitution, according to a process applicable by the states.

And in the event of the failure of every constitutional resort, and an accumulation of usurpations and abuses, rendering passive obedience and non-resistance a greater evil than resistance and revolution, there can remain but one resort, the last of all—an appeal from the cancelled obligations of the compact, to original rights and the law of self-preservation. This is the *ultima ratio* under all governments, whether consolidated, confederated or a compound of both; and it cannot be doubted that a single member of the union, in the extremity supposed, but in that only, would have a right, as an extra and ultra-constitutional right, to make the appeal."

This letter, Sir, was written in 1830 by *James Madison*; a gentleman who has been always regarded as one of the Fathers of the Federal Constitution, had much to do with the famous resolutions of '98 and '99 and was twice elected to the office of President of the United States, by the Republican Party.

Andrew Jackson in his proclamation of the 11th of December, 1832, said:

This right to secede is deduced *from* the nature of the constitution, which they say is a compact between sovereign states who have preserved their whole sovereignty, and therefore are subject to no superior; that because they made the compact, they can break it, when in their opinion it has been departed from by the other states. Fallacious as this course of reasoning is, it enlists state pride, and finds advocates in the honest prejudices of those who have not studied the nature of our government sufficiently to see the radical error on which it rests.

The constitution of the United States, then, forms a government, not a league, and whether it be formed by compact between the states, or in any other manner, its character is the same. It is a government in which all the people are represented, which operates directly on the people individually, not upon the states—they retained all the power they did not grant. But each state having expressly parted with so many powers, as to constitute, jointly with the other states, a single nation, can not, from that period, possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of a nation, and any injury to that unity is not only a breach which would result from the contravention of a compact, but it is an offence against the whole Union. To say that any state may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States are not a nation, because it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation, might dissolve its connexion with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing any offence. Secession, like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the extremity of oppression; but to call it a constitutional right, is confounding the meaning of terms, and can only be done through gross error, or to deceive those who are willing to assert a right, but would pause before they made a revolution, or incur the penalties consequent on a failure.

"Because the Union was formed by compact, it is said the parties to that compact may, when they feel themselves aggrieved, depart from it; but it is precisely because it is a compact, that they cannot. A compact is an agreement of binding obligation. It may, by its terms, have a sanction or penalty for its breach, or it may not. If it contains no sanction, it may be broken with no other consequence than moral guilt; if it have a sanction then the breach incurs the designated or implied penalty. A league between independent nations, generally, has no sanction other than a moral one; or if it should contain a penalty, as there is no common superior it cannot be enforced. A Government on the contrary, always has a sanction express or implied, and in our case, it is both necessarily implied and expressly given.

"Men of the best intention and soundest views may differ in their construction of some parts of the constitution; but there are others on which dispassionate reflection can leave no doubt. Of this nature appears to be the assumed right of secession. It rests, as we have seen, on the alleged undivided sovereignty of the states, and of their having formed, in this sovereign capacity, a compact, which is called the constitution, from which because they made it, they have the right to secede. Both of these positions are erroneous, and some of the arguments to prove them so have been anticipated.

"So obvious are the reasons which forbid this secession, that it is necessary only to allude to them. The union was formed for the benefit of all. It was produced by mutual sacrifices of interest and opinions. Can those sacrifices be recalled? Can the states who magnanimously surrendered their title to the territories of the west, recall the grant? Will the inhabitants of the inland states agree to pay the duties that may be imposed without their assent by those on the Atlantic or the gulf, for their own benefit? Shall there be a free port in one state and onerous duties in another? No one believes that any right exists in a single state to involve all the others in these and countless other evils, contrary to engagements solemnly made. Every one must see that the other states, in self defence, must oppose it at all hazards. * *

"I have no discretionary power on the subject—my duty is emphatically pronounced in the constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution, deceived you—they could not have been deceived themselves. They know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws, and they know that such opposition must be repelled. Their object is disunion: but be not deceived by names: disunion, by armed force, is *treason.*"

Again, in his nullification message bearing date the 16th of January 1833, Gen. Jackson said:

"By these various proceedings, therefore, the State of South Carolina has forced the general Government, unavoidably, to decide the new and dangerous alternative of permitting a state to obstruct the execution of the law within its limits, or seeing it attempt to execute a threat of withdrawing from the Union.—That portion of the people at present exercising the authority of the state solemnly assert their right to do either, and as solemnly announce their determination to do one or the other.

"In my opinion, both purposes are to be regarded as revolutionary in their character and tendency, and subversive of the supremacy of the laws and of the integrity of the Union. The result of each is the same; since a state in which, by a usurpation of power, the constitutional authority of the federal government is openly defied and set aside, wants only the form, to be independent of the Union.

"The right of the people of a single state to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of the other states, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberties and happiness of the millions composing this Union, can not be acknowledged.—Such authority is believed to be utterly repugnant both to the principles upon which the general government is constituted, and to the objects which it was expressly formed to attain.

"Against all acts which may be alledged to transcend the constitutional power of government, or which may be inconvenient or oppressive in their operation, the constitution itself has prescribed the mode of redress. It is the acknowledged attribute of free institutions that, under them, the empire of reason and law is substituted for the power of the sword. To no other source can appeals for supposed wrongs be made, consistently with the obligations of South Carolina; to no other can such appeals be made with safety at any time, and to their decisions, when constitutionally pronounced, it becomes the duty, no less of the public authorities than of the people, in every case to yield a patriotic submission.

"That a state, or any other great portion of the people, suffering under long and intolerable oppressions, and having tried all constitutional remedies without the hope of redress, may have a natural right, when their happiness can be no otherwise secured, and when they can do so without greater injury to others, to absolve themselves from their obligations to the government, and appeal to the last resort, need not on the present occasion, be denied.

"The existence of this right, however, must depend upon the causes which may justify its exercise. It is the *ultima ratio*, which presupposes that the proper appeals to all other means of redress have been made in good faith, and which can never be rightfully resorted to unless it be unavoidable. It is not the right of the state, but of the individual, and of all the individuals in the state. It is the right of mankind generally to secure, by all means in their power, the blessings of liberty and happiness; but when, for these purposes, any body of men have voluntarily associated themselves under a particular form of government, no portion of them can dissolve the association without acknowledging the correlative right in the remainder to

decide whether that dissolution can be permitted consistently with the general happiness. In this view, it is a right dependent upon the power to enforce it.—Such a right, though it may be admitted to pre-exist, and can not be wholly surrendered, is necessarily subject to limitations in all free governments, and in compacts of all kinds, freely and voluntarily entered into, and in which the interest and welfare of the individual become identified with those of the community of which he is a member. In compacts between individuals, however deeply they may affect their relations, these principles are acknowledged to create a sacred obligation; and in compacts of civil governments, involving the liberty and happiness of millions of mankind, the obligation can not be less."

In his farewell address, to the people of the United States, issued in March 1837, Gen Jackson repeated the same opinions; but I will not fatigue the Senate with additional authorities.

These opinions of Gen. Jackson were proclaimed after his second election to the presidency; but it is too much a matter of history that his popularity and influence still continued to increase until his name ultimately became enshrined in the hearts of a vast majority of the American people as that of a benefactor. He could even secure the election of his friend as his successor, a friend (Mr. Van Buren,) who admitted the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but who relied for success on a pledge "to follow in the foot-steps of his illustrious predecessor."

That very speech of Mr. Livingston, portions of which the Senator from Pasquotank and Perquimans calls to his aid, of itself and more conclusively, answers his positions. Mr. Livingston points out the mode of seeking redress by an aggrieved state, the application to the Supreme Court, or if it decides with manifest injustice or cannot take jurisdiction, the various peaceable methods of pursuing a remedy *in the Union* until the necessity of the case forces a State to withdraw, at its own risk, as a last resort and an extreme remedy for intolerable oppression.

Mr. Shepard enquired if he understood the gentleman as saying that the people of North Carolina, as an organized Government, had no right to resist the General Government.

Mr. Gilmer: They have; and in the extreme cases so clearly defined by Mr. Madison and Mr. Livingston, it is not only their *right*, but their *duty* to resist. But it must be at their own risk, and it will not be *secession* as a right guarantied by the Constitution; it will be the exercise of a natural, inherent, inalienable right, the right of *revolution*.

Mr. G. said he regretted to see harsh language, language almost akin to vituperation so freely used in the discussion of a question so grave, and so interesting to all—in the discussion of questions in regard to which the interests of honest men were the same. The venerable Editors of the "Intelligencer" and the "Union" newspapers, published in Washington, and reflecting the views of two great political parties, were said to have been bought up by Government contracts. The words "rebels" and "traitors" are held *in terrorem* over the heads of those who doubt the propriety and the constitutionality of secession, or who deem it equivalent to nullification: and the minority report of the Committee on Negro Slavery fulminates its thunders in the same direction, but certainly with no "selfish or sinister purpose."

Is this the way to explain secession? Is this the way to defend it? Does it need such bolstering? Is this the way to bring it to the comprehension of honest men, seeking truth and the honor of their country?

Do gentlemen expect, by the use of such harsh terms, aspersing in advance of their conclusions the motives of honest men, to create that harmony of feeling and unity of action now so necessary at the South? Is every honest man, whatever be his position and past services, who dares to think for himself, to hesitate and doubt when bold and startling measures are suddenly sprung upon him, to be denounced and branded as a traitor and rebel?—Even supposing those fiery leaders who jump at conclusions by intuition, and snuff the distant approach of tyranny in the tainted breeze, to be right, do they expect the masses, the slowly moving, ponderous and *pondering* masses to keep even pace with them? And if the masses, as the masses of honest men always do, move slowly and cautiously, will these Hotspurs, far in the van of their forces, be so indiscreet, so unwise, *incautious of their own safety* as to turn and fire on their own men? Sir, these gentlemen look to events, to a crisis during which, if it should happen, the masses of the South will be animated with one instinct and one heart; and yet because these coming events which have cast their shadows athwart their prophetic vision, are yet unseen by the people, these people are to have dashed into their faces the *inspiring* charge of rebels and traitors! Sir, said Mr. G., I must confess, whatever be the consequences of such a confession, that the word *Union* has had some charms for me—and I will also be bold enough to express my regrets that an indifference or contempt for the Union should be deemed, just at this time, a becoming manifestation on the part of the South.—The threats or the menaces of those who are considered the most sincere, are most to be regarded; and certainly it would look strange in us, not to say ludicrous, and might entitle us to the charge of inconsiderate levity, to attempt to manifest any such indifference at a crisis so awful as the impending dissolution of our Federal Union, and while the aged high-priests of Liberty, from all sections and representing all interests, are standing in the Temple, with up-lifted hands, solemnly invoking Heaven to seal their eyes in eternal night before they witness a catastrophe so sad and frightful!

Mr. G. said, if secession be a *constitutional* remedy against the oppressive encroachments of the General Government, and when a bare majority of the State determines upon it, all are at once absolved from their allegiance to the Union, and have a right to take arms in defence, then *all will be well*. In that case should our officers and soldiers, as well as those who send them into the field, in case of defeat, be brought into Court, the plea of secession *admitted*, acquits the defendants. This case never having been adjudicated, and the opinion of Madison, Jackson, and others being so decidedly against the right of secession, he considered none obnoxious to the charge of "deceivers," or persons moved by "selfish and sinister purposes," who should doubt the security of that plea on demurrer filed.

Suppose it be conceded that secession, when determined on by a bare majority of a State, be a right reserved to each State in the confederacy, and North Carolina by a solemn resolution avow this right! If she takes this right to herself, as a peaceful and constitutional means of withdrawing from the Union, must she not give the same right to all her sisters? Suppose Vermont refuses to obey the fugitive slave law, and by a bare majority opposed to *this very fugitive slave law*, secedes from the Union; in case a contest between Vermont and the General Government arises out of this question, the General Government on the one side using her army and naval forces to enforce the law and return to North Carolina her fugitive slaves, and Vermont resisting, on the ground that she had a right to secede, which would North Carolina help?

Admit this right of secession at the will of a majority in a State, and would not North Carolina be bound by her *own doctrine*, to take the side of her seceding sister Vermont, or remain neutral!—If she lent her forces to the General Government against Vermont, (and great would be her power to resist sinister and selfish motives not to do it) would she not be acting in the face of her own resolution?

The people of England have the power, if not the constitutional right, to cut off the head of their Queen, when in the opinion of a majority, the public good requires it—but is not this revolution? King Charles was beheaded, and King James abdicated the throne, and these incidents in those days were called revolutions. Our forefathers at their own *risk*, absolved all allegiance to the British crown, and formed a Government for themselves, and this was called *the Revolution*. If this was the right, as the last resort, contended for, then, there is no difference of opinion; but he desired gentlemen to say *so, plainly*—and he was ready to go as far as prudence and wisdom would permit, yea, as far as the next man, to maintain and defend the honor and interest of his beloved State. He was not disposed to lull the people to sleep, or to do or say anything, here or elsewhere, to induce them to repose in false security. He was anxious to deal honestly with the people and not deceive them. He desired that they should see all, and act on safe and sure ground.

Mr. G. said he was willing to abide by the compromise, and hoped North Carolina and all the States would abide by it; but he was sincere in the opinion, that a repeal of the fugitive slave law, or material alteration in its provisions, would be an act of gross injustice and bad faith, well calculated to alarm the whole of the Slave States, destroy their confidence in the honesty and fair purposes of the people of the States concurring in such repeal or alteration, and produce such alienation and distrust, as would render the further maintenance of Union, very difficult, if not utterly impossible. This he desired the Assembly to say to the non-slaveholding States.

Should this law be repealed, he feared the dread alternative had come. He relied much on the influence of patriotic Union men at the North to avert it. He did not court, or wish to provoke it. But when the honor, welfare and happiness of North Carolina demanded resistance, he must have greatly degenerated from the spirit of his fathers, whose blood stained revolutionary soil, and whose bones lie mingled with the earth—once shaken by the charge of British squadrons; if he was not found side by side by the true friends of Southern freedom when that day of trial shall come. He did not wish to be forced by resolutions solemnly passed here by men under oath to support the Constitution of the *Union*, to say to his constituents, when called to the field of blood, "whip if you can, but if you are defeated, you are protected in Court by the plea of *secession*." He desired to be left free to exhort them to do all that their liberty and Southern honor demanded at their hands, and to rely for success on a just cause, their own strength, and the blessings of a wise and just Providence.

And in conclusion, he would be permitted to say, that although he represented a constituency unjustly stigmatized, by reason of the *peculiar* opinions of *a few*, and in which North Carolina Militia lost character in the Revolution, (but not from Guilford men, who alone, says history, stood their ground, and died upon the ground,) there would be numbered in the last breach and final struggle for the rights and privileges of our common country, as many true men from Guilford, as from any sister County in this or any other State.

STATE LEGISLATURE.

SENATE.

MONDAY, Dec. 23rd.

Mr. Malloy presented a memorial, in relation to the Charter of a Plank Road from Hayley's ferry on Pedee River. Referred to Committee on Internal Improvement.

Mr. Cameron a memorial from certain citizens and mechanics of Fayetteville. Referred to Committee on Propositions and Grievances.

Mr. Joyner a memorial from Stockholders of the Wilmington and R. R. R. Company, praying an amendment of the charter. Referred to Committee on Internal Improvement.

Mr. Bond, a resolution concerning the appointment of a delegation to attend the World's Fair, at London. Passed 1st time, ordered to be printed and made the order of the day for 1st of January.

Mr. Joyner, a Bill concerning amendments of the Charter of Wilmington and Raleigh R. R. Company. Passed 1st time and referred to Committee on Internal Improvement.

Daniel W. Courts, Senator from Rockingham, having resigned, it was ordered that the Speaker of the Senate issue a writ of Election to the Sheriff of Rockingham, to hold an Election, after giving 5 day's notice, to supply the place of Daniel W. Courts.

Mr. Thomas, a bill to incorporate Tuckasege Turnpike Company. Passed 1st time and referred to Committee on Internal Improvements.

On motion of Mr. Bynum, the bill to restore Jury trials to the counties of Rutherford, Cleveland and Henderson, was amended, passed the 3d time and ordered to be engrossed.

The bill to provide for a geological and agricultural Survey of the State, was read 3d time and ordered to be engrossed.

Mr. Lillington moved to reconsider the vote rejecting the Wilmington and Manchester R. R. Company. On motion of Mr. Joyner, laid on the table for the present.

The Senate now proceeded to the consideration of Mr. Woodfin's resolutions, the question being on the amendment of Mr. Kelly. Mr. Bynum proposed that the amendment be still further amended, so that action be taken during the present Session. On motion of Mr. Gilmer the resolutions and amendments were referred to Committee on Internal Improvements.

On motion of Mr. Shepard, the Slavery Resolutions were postponed and made the order of the day for Monday next.

On motion of Mr. Bynum, Messrs. Bond and Grist were granted leave of absence for two weeks.

Also on motion of Mr. Cameron, for Mr. Herring, until Monday next.

On the Bill to amend an act to establish a Bank in the State of North Carolina, Mr. Bower moved the following amendment:

Resolved, however, in case any Bank or Banks shall under the provisions of this act, deal in, buy or sell any such Stocks or bonds issued by the State, the interest or premium accruing thereupon, which shall be received or paid to, or received to be paid to such Bank, or Banks, shall be liable to a tax of three cents on every dollar, which shall be paid and accounted for in the same manner and under like penalties, as required under the provisions of an act passed at the Sessions of 1848–'9, to increase the public revenue.

Mr. Woodfin moved farther to amend by adding, *Provided*, that nothing in this act shall be so construed as to impose a tax on the interest on any bond or bonds, purchased by any of the Banks by virtue of the existing law.

On motion of Mr. Speight, ordered to lie on the table. Mr. Bynum moved to reconsider Mr. Bower's amendment. Agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MONDAY, Dec. 23rd.

The Speaker announced a message from the Senate agreeing to the proposition of the House to raise a Joint Select Committee on the subject of establishing a Medical Board for this State.—Messrs. Durham, Blow and J. J. Williams, appointed the Committee on the part of the House.

Mr. Erwin made a personal explanation in which he disclaimed any intentional disrepect to the Speaker of the House in the remarks submitted by him on a previous day. He had great respect for him as a gentleman and as a party man.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. Gordon presented a memorial praying for the opening of a Road in Wilkes County across the Blue Ridge; which was referred to the committee on Internal Improvements.

Leave of absence was granted to the following gentlemen: for 5 days to Mr. W. McNeill; for 6 days to Mr. Cherry; for 7 days to Mr. Clanton; for 4 days to Mr. J. H. Hill.

BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS.

On motion of Mr. Scott, a message was sent to the Senate proposing to set apart Tuesday evening next for appointing Justices of the Peace.

Mr. Eaton, a bill to allow the State to challenge Jurors; which passed its first reading, and was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. [Provides that where the prisoner may challenge 35, that the State may challenge 8; and in other cases, that the State may challenge half as many as the defendant.]

REPORTS FROM COMMITTEES.

Mr. R. M. Saunders, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported back a memorial and a bill for a change in the law requiring Sheriffs to advertise lands sold for taxes in a paper printed in the City of Raleigh, and proposed a bill from the Committee as a substitute; which bill passed its first reading.

Mr. Stevenson, from the same Committee, reported the bill to regulate the pay of Jurors in the County of Craven, and recommended its passage. Passed 2nd reading.

Also, the bill to extend the jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace in certain cases, and recommended its rejection. The bill was read a 2nd time and rejected.

Mr. Rayner, from the Committee on Internal Improvements, reported the bill to incorporate the Roanoke Valley Rail Road Company, with several amendments, and recommended its passage.—After some discussion on the amendments, in which Messrs. Eaton, Rayner, Brogden, D. A. Barnes, Saunders and Pope, participated, they were adopted.

Mr. Stevenson moved that the bill be indefinitely postponed. Upon this motion a discussion ensued, in which Messrs. Wiley, Eaton, Rayner, Stevenson, Person, and Caldwell participated; the three first supporting the bill, and the latter opposing.

On motion of Mr. Steele, the bill was laid on the table and ordered to be printed.

The Speaker then announced the unfinished business, being the bill to establish a County by the name of Jackson; but

On motion of Mr. Avery, the House adjourned.

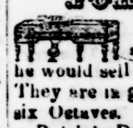
CHILDREN'S CLOTHING,

CONSISTING of Jackets and Pantaloons, attached and detached Over Coats, &c. To which we invite the attention of the Ladies.

OLIVER & PROCTER.

October 14. 84

FOR SALE OR RENT.



THE Subscriber has on hand, several second-handed Pianos, which he would sell low for *cash*, or rent by the month.—They are in good repair, mostly modern style, with six Octaves. W. WHITAKER.

Raleigh, Dec. 21, 1850. 103

DAILY REGISTER.

DAILY ISSUE.

Tuesday Morning, Dec. 24th.

MR. GILMER'S SPEECH.

We present entire this morning, to the exclusion of everything else, Mr. Gilmer's recent powerful Speech in the Senate on the doctrine of Secession—confident that we could fill our columns with nothing more acceptable in itself, more forceful in demonstration or more able in every particular. We commend it to a general perusal.

☞ We regret that we have, as yet, been unable to find room for the proceedings of the recent Union meeting, in Rockingham county. We hope to be able to do so, in our next.

☞ SMALL POX.—This loathsome disease, we are concerned to state, is prevailing extensively in portions of the State, west of this City. The Commissioners of Salisbury, Charlotte, Concord, and other places, have taken precautionary measures to prevent the spread of the contagion.

NOTICE.

IS hereby given, that application will be made to the present Legislature, for an act to incorporate Pasquotank Division, No. 21, of Sons of Temperance of Elizabeth City.

December 4th, 1850. 103

HOUSE PAINTING.

THE undersigned having purchased JERRY, well known as an excellent and skilful

House Painter,

hereby gives notice, that he will hire him out by the day or job, on liberal terms. Persons desiring his services will please apply to Mills H. Brown, in this place, or to the subscriber, at Fish Dam, Wake.

CALVIN J. ROGERS.

Dec, 21st, 1850. 2m 103

Abbot's Illustrated Histories.

XERXES THE GREAT!

THE following works of the series are now ready;

William the Conqueror,	Alexander the Great,
Mary Queen of Scotts,	Charles the Second,
Maria Antoinette,	Charles the First,
Darius the Great,	Alfred the Great,
Queen Elizabeth,	Cyrus the Great,
Julius Cæsar,	Madame Roland,
Hannibal.	

Illustrated Title Pages and other Illustrations, 18mo.

For sale at the North Carolina Book Store, by

H. D. TURNER.

Dec. 21, 1850. 103

Yeast Powders.

Try a Box if you want good Buckwheat and Batter Cakes; for sale by.

WILLIAMS, HAYWOOD & CO.

Notice.

APPLICATION will be made to the Legislature of North Carolina, now in session, for an act to incorporate the Trustees of TAR RIVER ACADEMY, in the County of Granville.

December 19th, 1850. 102 tf

Classical and Mathematical SCHOOL.

Hillsborough, N. C

THE exercises of the Caldwell Institute having been discontinued, the subscribers will open a School on the 14th day of January, 1851, in the building lately used by that institution, under their own control and direction.

The course of instruction will be such as to prepare young men thoroughly for the Sophomore class in College, or when a College course is not intended, for the business transactions of life.

The strictest attention will be given to the moral deportment of the students, and if long experience in the education of youth be a ground of confidence to those who may patronize the School, we promise to use that experience to promote the best interests of those who may be committed to our charge.

Terms in the Classical and Mathematical department, $20; and in English $15 a session in advance.

ALEX. WILSON.

RALPH H. GRAVES.

Hillsboro', Dec., 21st, 1850. 103

☞ The Wilmington Chronicle, Watchman and Observer of Richmond, Va., insert 4 times and forward accounts.

Bank of the State of N. Carolina.

The Bank will be closed on Wednesday, the 25th inst., that being Christmas day. All papers falling due on that day must be attended to on Tuesday preceding.

C. DEWEY, Cashier.

December, 22d, 1850. 103

WINES AND BRANDIES.

SCOTCH Ale and London Porter, of superior quality selected for Medical purposes constantly on hand and for sale at the Drug Store of

WILLIAMS, HAYWOOD, & CO.

Dec. 21st, 1850. 103

NOTICE.

IS hereby given that application will be made to the President, Directors and Company of the Bank of Cape Fear, at the expiration of this date, for the issue of a new certificate for 21 shares of the stock of said Bank, in the name of Dr. Isaac Burns, dec'd in the stead of one lost.

Application will also be made to the President, Directors and Company of the Bank of the State of North Carolina at the expiration of three months, for the issue of a new Certificate for 10 shares of the Stock of said Bank, in the name of Dr. Isaac Burns dec'd., in the stead of one lost.

E. B. BURNS, Ad'm'r.

Dec. 20th, 1850. 103

NORTH CAROLINA MUSIC STORE.

THE Subscriber takes this opportunity of announcing to the people of North Carolina, that he intends to open in this City, in December next,

A MUSIC STORE,

where will always be found a complete assortment of Foreign and American Music, and Musical Instruments; all of which will be selected by himself.

The Pianos will be from the best Manufactories in the United States, and will be sold at New York and Philadelphia prices.

K. W. PETERSILIA.

Raleigh, Nov. 6, 1850. 89 tf

A CARD.

THE Subscriber, having made arrangemen with Mrs. Frances Wilson of Norfolk, will be in the receipt of a regular supply of the fiuest

Norfolk Oysters,

together with fresh fish, smoked beef, beef tongues, and other rare luxuries, and he flatters himself, by using his best exertions to please, to receive a liberal support.

His regular supply of Oysters will commence about the 1st of November, and continue through the season.

He has engaged a part of **Mr. Willis Scott's** house on the corner of Market Square and Wilmington Street, where he will be pleased to receive the orders of Mrs. Wilson's former friends and customers.

H. J. POWELL.

Raleigh, October 25th, 1850.

BUSINESS COATS.

100 MORE of those desirable Coats; just opened—at the low price of $4 50.

E. L. HARDING & CO.

Nov. 15th, 1850. 92

Wanted.

A GOOD House-maid. Enquire at this office.

Raleigh, Aug. 6th, 1850. 63 3t

FORWARDING.

I WILL attend to the forwarding of all Goods at Wilmington and Fayetteville, at the usual commission; and will, in all cases, forward by first boat without reference to *lines*. All orders for purchasers will be strictly attended to. Direct to care of

W. BRANSON,
Fayetteville and Wilmington.

April16, 1850. 31 tf

English, Goshen, and Parmesan Chees, just to hand

R. TUCKER & SON.

Raleigh September 21st, 1850. 76

MYER'S CELEBRATED CHEWing Tobacco; Imported Cigars of different Brands. Just received by

R. TUCKER & SON.

October 8th, 1850. 81

JENNY LIND SLIPPERS.

JUST received, and for sale by

O. L. BURCH.

Raleigh, Oct. 4, 1850. 80

Valuable Land for Sale.

A Valuable Tract of Land containing 208 acres lying between four and five miles West of Raleigh, on both sides of Walnut Creek, and adjoining the land of Rev. Thos. Meredith and others, will be sold on reasonable terms.

For further information apply to

M. A. BLEDSOE.

Raleigh, August 17, 1850. 66

PRIME SMOKING AND CHEWING TOBACCO.

And the best Imported Cigars,

MAY BE FOUND AT

HENRY KEIM'S

GENERAL VARIETY STORE,

First Corner North of Yarbrough House,

And opposite Lawrence's Hotel,

Keeps on hand a good assortment of Useful, Fancy and Ornamental Articles, Confectionaries, Groceries

1 Doz. Guitars, on hand, from $1 to $35.
4 Doz. Violins, from $1 to $25.
A Variety of Accordeons.

HENRY KEIM.

Nov. 21th, 1850. 95

NEGRO CLOTHING.

WE have a large assortment of Negro Clothing, all kinds of Jackets, Over Coats, Pants and Vests, that we will sell cheaper than the goods can be purchased, much less to have them made. To which we invite the heads of families who have their ervants to supply

OLIVER & PROCTER.

Oct. 12, 1850. 82

N. PERRY,
MERCHANT TAILOR,

SYCAMORE STREET,
3 doors above Bank, PETERBURG, Va.

SUPERIOR
Ready Made Clothing,
AND
GENTLEMEN'S
UNDER DRESS.
SHIRTS, COLLARS,
CRAVATS, STOCKS,
HANDKERCHIEFS,
SUSPENDERS,
UMBRELLAS. TRUNKS, &c.

September 8th, 1850. 73 tf.

TO PAINTERS.

The Painter, Gilder, and Varnisher's Companion.

CONTAINING Rules and Regulations in Everything relating to the Arts of Painting, Gilding, Varnishing and Glass Staining.

H. D. TURNER.

SUPREME COURT REPORTS.

NO. 2, Vol. 11, S. C. Reports, being the decisions at the August Term, has just been issued rom this Office.

November 26th, 1850. ot

BANK OF THE STATE
OF
NORTH CAROLINA.

THE Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of this Bank will be held on the first Monday in January next, at their Banking House in this City.

C. DEWEY Cashier.

Raleigh Nov: 30th, 1850 td 97

NEW BOOK STORE!

THE Subscriber has just opened a BOOK STORE in

RALEIGH,

Two doors above Mr. Richard Smith's store, where he offers to the public

SCHOOL BOOKS

Of almost every description, together with a large collection of

RELIGIOUS WORKS,

From the pens of eminent authors of the different Denominations; also,

STATIONERY

Of excellent quality; all of which he proposes to sel *n very reasonable terms.*

Any Book not on hand at present, can be ordered and received by the Subscriber, in a few days, and he will be prompt to fulfil all orders from town or country.

JOHN W. O'NEAL.

Raleigh, Sept. 12th, 1850. 74 tf

SARATOGA WATER.

IN Quarts and Pints, just received and for sale a the Drug Store of

WILLIAMS, HAYWOOD & CO.

2000 Acres of Land.

THE Subscriber is desirous of selling his land lying within three miles of Raleigh, on both sides of the road to Fayetteville.

The above land is well adapted to the cultivation of Grain, Tobacco or Cotton, is well watered and healthy, and can be advantageously divided into three or four tracts, to suit small farmers, or residences for persons from the lower country.

Notes at interest, or Young Negroes will be received in Payment.

Persons desirous of seeing the above land will call on the Subscriber, or, in his absence, his Brother on the Premises.

JOSEPH T. HUNTER.

Sept, 23rd, 1850. 6w 77

S. F. PHILLIPS,

ATTENDS THE COURTS in the Counties of Orange, Alamance, Wake and Chatham.

apel ChHill, N. C., May 24, 1849. 24

TEA! TEA! TEA!

IMPERIAL, Young Hyson and Gunpowder, for sale at the Drug Store of

WILLIAMS, HAYWOOD & CO.

Nov. 21st, 1850. 94

TO INVALIDS.

AT Pescud's Drug Store you may find Old London Dock Brandy, Porter, Old Madeira, Sherry and Port Wines, selected expressly for Medicinal purposes. Also, Capsules of Copaiba and Cubebs, Castor Oil Capsules, Tarrants, Marshalls and Carpenters Ex'ts of Copaiba Cubebs, &c., and all the most popular Patent Medicines in use.

Nov, 21st. 94

CLOTHING BAZAAR.

FALL AND WINTER STOCK OF

Fashionable Clothing,

AT
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.

THE subscriber enters the field of competition with a large and well selected assortment of all the new styles of Fashionable Garments for the Fall and Winter Trade. Determined to maintain the increasing reputation of the 'Clothing Bazaar,' every effort has been made to produce styles of Clothing well adapted to this market; from the very lowest price to the finest quality of Clothing. Customers can depend upon finding our garments well made, however low the price.

Merchants are invited to examine our stock, as we are determined not to be undersold by any house in the trade.

The fancy Department is full, embracing English French and Italian Cravats, Gloves, Suspenders, Shirts, Collars, &c, which will be sold at the lowest prices, by

N. PERRY.

Petersburg, Sept 8th. 1850, tf 73

SELF-PROTECTORS,
TO TRAVELLERS AND HOUSEKEEPERS

The greatest modern Improvement in Fire-Arms.

ELF-COCKING & SELF-REVOLVING POCKET PISTOLS.

DAILY EXPECTED, a large importation of fine Guns, Pistols, Powder Flasks, Shot-Bags, Bird-bags, &c., &c., all which will be sold low.

C. B. ROOT.

MUSTARD.

ENGLISH, French and American, of superior quality. WILLIAMS, HAYWOOD & CO.

v. 21st. 93

TOBACCO AND CIGARS.

THE Members of the Legislature and others who want superior **Cigars Smoking and Chewing Tobacco**, are requested to try the supply just received by

P. F. PESCUD.

Nov. 21st. 94

Notice.

THE Subscriber has determined to locate in this City, and having procured a sufficient number of competent assistants, is prepared to execute in the most finished Style, all kinds of

PAINTING, GLAZING, AND RE-GLAZING

Orders from the City or surrounding Country, if left at the Drug Store of P. F. Pescud, will be promply executed and satisfaction guarantied.

Reference as to ability, character, &c., will be given to all who may wish to patronise him.

WM. M. OVERBY.

Raleigh May 20, 1850 41

NOTICE

IS hereby given that application will be made, at the ensuing session of the Legislature, for a Charter for the construction of a Plank Road from Pittsboro' to Haywood, or some convenient point on Deep River.

MANY CITIZENS.

October 18th, 1850. 84 tl

To my Town & Country friends.

THE Subscriber would respectfully call the attention of his Town and Country friends to his stock of Family Groceries, which he is determined to sell on as good terms as any one in the place. Among his stock may be found:

80 Bbbls. best Petersburg Flour—whole and half barrels.
2 Hhds. Bright and Dry P. R. Sugar,
5 bbls do do N. O. do
6 do *Crushed* do
5 do Clarified do
4 do Pulverized do
1 Package best Loaf do
Rio, Laguira and Java Coffe,
Imperial and Black Tea, a fine article,
Tallow, Adamantine and Sperm candles,
Washing and Fancy Soaps,
Crane's Wash mixture—a superior article,
A fine lot imported segars—different brands,
Oak and Hemlock Sole Leather; and many articles in the Grocery and Confectionary line.

Give me a call, and I am determiued not to be undersold by Jew or Gentile.

L. B. WALKER.

Raleigh, Nov. 7th 1850. 91

National Hotel.

NO. 5 COURTLAND STREET, NEW YORK.

THIS ESTABLISHMENT having passed into the hands of Mr. Geo. Seeley, formerly of the Eastern Pearl St. House, has been recently improved by the addition of

FORTY NEW ROOMS.

And has also been thoroughly re-fitted and re-furnished for the accomodation of the Public.

It is the aim of the Proprietor to render the **NATIONAL** quite equal to any of its cotemporaries in all those essentials that contribute to the reputation of a well conducted and well ordered Hotel.

The House is of the largest size, eligibly located, within three doors of Broadway, and in all respects conveniently arranged to promote the comfort and convenience of Guests. Persons visiting New York are respectfully invited to make their home at this Hotel during their stay in the City.

GEORGE SEELEY,
Proprietor.

New York, June 28, 1850. 53 6m

To Physicians, Chemists &c,

THE Subscribers offer Physicians a large and well selected assortment of pure

Drugs, Medicines, &c.

They would also invite the atttention of Chemists and Lecturers to their stock of

Pure Re-agents Chemicals and Chemical Wares.

Priced Catalogues furnished upon application, post-paid.

BULLOCK & CRENSHAW,
Wholesale Druggists and Manufacturing Chemists,
6th and Arch Sts. PHILADELPHIA.

September 1st, 1850. 6m- 71

C. & E. L. Kerrison & Co.,

DIRECT IMPORTERS OF
FOREIGN DRY GOODS,
Charleston, s. C.

WOULD respectfully inform their friends and those who purchase Dry Goods, in their city, that they are now prepared to offer a large, choice and well assorted Stock of **Foreign and Fancy Dry Goods.**

As they receive the bulk of their Goods, *direct* from European Ports, they feel assured of being able to compete successfully with any other Market in the United States.

209 King, North West Corner of King and Mar-

August 24th, 1850. w3m

WORKS BY THE REV. C B TAYLOR.

RECORDS of a good Man's Life,
Margaret, or the Pearl.
Scenes in a Clergyman's life,
Earnestness.

H. D. TURNER.

Nov. 12th, 1850. 91

MERINO DRAWERS AND SHIRTS,

10 Dozen just at hand, Very cheap.

E. L. HARDING & CO.

Superior Family Flour, made at Col. Thomas McGehee's Mill.

For Sale by

R. TUCKER & SON.

November 28th, 5 . 97

LOT OF THOMASTOWN LIME,

Just received and for Sale by

R TUCKER & SON.

November 28th, 1850. 97

Star and Standard copy.

Ladies Shoes and Slippers.

JUST received, by Express, direct from the manufactory.

Ladies Kid and Morocco Walking Shoes, (Ties and Buskins,)
do do and do Slippers.

ALSO ON HAND.

100 pieces Light and Dark Calico,
Bleached and Brown Shirtings and Sheetings,

With a general assortment of

Dry Goods. Hats and Shoes,
Lawns and Ginghams, Groceries,
Cambrics and Jaconetts, Crockery.

For sale, low, by

J. BROWN,
No. 9 Fayetteville Street.

Raleigh, August 6th, 1850. 63

Sedgwick Female SEMINARY.

RALEIGH, N. C.

THE Spring term of this Institution will open on Tuesday the first day of January, 1851.

TERMS per session of five months (payable in advance.)

Board and English Tuition,	$50,00
Music on Piano or Guitar,	20,00
Use of Instruments,	3,00
Latin and French, each,	10,00
Incidental expenses,	1,00

MRS. J. J. FINCH, Principal.

November 2 1t, 1850. 4t 96

Soldiers Claims.

THE undersigned having much experience and success in the business, still takes military claims for Bounty lands and Pensions for prosecution before the government, on very reasonable terms, and with the utmost faithfulness and dispatch. All letters to him, from claimants, must be postage paid.

☞ The last Congress gave lands to all the officers and Soldiers who served one month or longer, and if dead, to their widows and minor children, in all the wars of the United States, since 1790.

And provision is now also made for pensions to Widows of Soldiers of the Revolution, who married before the year 1800.

He can furnish information concerning the grades of officers of the Revolutionary War, which is all important to claimants, and difficult to procure elsewhere. His charges will be moderate.

*** Any information concerning the heirs of the following officers of the Revolution will be thankfully received, viz:

Thomas Clark,	James Hogan,
Alexander Martin,	Wm. Davis,
James Martin,	John White,
James Moore,	Joshua Boman.

He can also furnish a copy of the rolls of the Officers and Soldiers of the State of North Carolina in the war with Great Britain, declared 18th of June 1812, giving in many instances the length of service, their respective offices and Regiments; the time of entering the service ☞ also the deserters, and every particular to facilitate the Collection of their Claims. ☜ Every agent should have a copy. Cost —only $10 each county!

J. H. KIRKHAM,
Raleigh N. C.

Raleigh, November 1st, 1850. 88

☞ Standard copy.

TO MY FRIENDS AND CUSTOMERS,

And the Public Generally.

HAVING associated with me in the Clothing business, Mr. Silvester Smith, it will henceforward be conducted under the firm of J. J. Biggs & co. Mr. Smith has been long known as a Merchant Tailor, but is now turning his attention to the Ready Made business, and it is the design of the New firm, to keep up a large assortment of all kinds of

Ready Made Clothing,

Our Stock of Cloths, Cassimers and Vestings, will also be kept up, a beautiful assortment of which is now being opened, embracing all the latest styles.

Mr. PEACH will attend to the Cutting Department, as heretofore.

J. J. BIGGS.

Raleigh, Oct. 18th 1850. 8 46t

New Goods!

SEPTEMBER, 1850.

Peebles, Scott & White,

Wholesale and Retail Dealers in

STAPLE AND FANCY DRY GOODS,
Sycamore St., Petersburg, Va.

WE beg leave to announce to our friends and customers that we are now in possession of our stock of

STAPLE AND FANCY DRY GOODS,

embracing a general assortment of the most fashionable style of Foreign and Domestic Fabrics, suited to the Fall and Winter Trade.

We respectfully solicit an examination of our assortment by Country Merchants, as well as those buying at retail.

Our stock is large and commodious. In it will be found all the leading articles usually kept in a Fashionable Dry Goods Store.

PEEBLES, SCOTT & WHITE.

Sept. 22nd, 1850. 77

ASHEVILLE MESSENGER.

THIS Whig Journal, now in its eleventh year was, on the first of November, greatly enlarged and improved. It is now classed among the very largest papers in the State, printed on new type, fine paper, and, as will be seen, is the *cheapest paper in the State*, of its size.

TERMS.—$2 00 a year, payable in six months; $2 50 after six months and $3 00 after twelve months.

To Ministers and widows it is furnished at $1 5 in six months, and $2 00 after six months. T Clubs of five for $8 75; of ten, for $16 25, in advance

JAMES M. EDNEY,
Editor and Proprietor.

November 15th, 1850. 92

To Purchasers of Books South of BALTIMORE CITY.

THE SUBSCRIBER would respectfully represent to Clergymen, Librarians, and all others in want of books in any department of Literature whether published in Europe or the United States, the advantages offered for obtaining them through his agency.

The publication of the leading houses of this country are generally found upon his shelves, and invariably supplied at the publishers' lowest cash prices whether for the single copy or by the quantity.

Importation of Books to Order

FROM EUROPE.

Foreign Books imported to order, by steamer or packet, with the greatest possible despatch and for the lowest rates.

To enable our customers to calculate correctly the costs of their orders before sending them, we have adopted the following low scale of prices:—

From England, new Books at 27 cents, old Books at 32 cents per shilling.

From France, new Books at 25 cents, old Books at 50 cents per franc.

From Germany, New Books at 87 cents, old books at $1 per thaler.

From Belguim, new Books at 20 cents, old Books at 30 cents per franc.

These rates are by Packet; when ordered by Steamer, an advance is charged.

☞ Books imported upon these rates to be paid for upon delivery—otherwise an advance will be charged.

A collection of Catalogues of old and new books, to which additions are constantly being made, can always be consulted at my store.

We are also in the monthly receipt of parcels of Catalogues from the various second-hand booksellers in London, with the prices affixed, which we distribute gratuitously to all who may wish them.

☞ American Publications always on sale, or supplied to Order, without any advance on Eastern prices.

J. S. WATERS, 244 Baltimore St.

Baltimore, Md., Oct, 27th, 1850. 4w78

THE

VOL. LII.

THE DAILY RE

STATE GA
EDITOR AND PRO

THE SEMI-WEEKLY
Is issued on Wednesdays a
per annum in advance; $4.50
six months; and $5 if not paid
of the year.

THE WEEKLY RE
Is issued every Wednesday
within four months; otherwise

BUSINESS DIR

RALEIGH POST

MAIL ARRANGE

Northern Mail—By Rail
1-2 p. m., and closes at 11½ a.
Southern—Two horse stage
m., closes at 12 m.
Greensborough—Four-horse
day, Wednesday and Saturd
closes Sunday, Wednesday a
Newbern—Four-horse stage
Friday and Sunday at 3 a. m.,
Tuesday and Thursday at 9 p
Tarborough—Two-horse s
Wednesday and Friday at 10
day, Wednesday and Saturday
Pittsborough—Two-horse s
and Thursday at 7 p. m., a
and Tuesday at 9 p. m.
Roxborough—One-horse m
9 a. m., and closes Friday at 1
Holly Springs—Horse M
4 p. m., and closes Thursday
Letters should be in the O
before the time of closing.
The Office will be open eve
day, from 8 o'clock a. m. unt
On Sunday, it will be open
and one hour directly after t
Western Mail.

TELEGRAPH
UP STAIRS

SMITH'S BUIL
FAYETTEVILLE
Open from 7 A. M. t
NO ADMITTANCE WITH

	Rates	First 10 w
Raleigh to Petersburg,	30 cts	
" " Richmond	32 "	
" " Washington	44 "	
" " Baltimore	54 "	
" " Philadelphia	74 "	
" " New York	84 "	
" " Fayetteville	21 "	
" " Cheraw	28 "	
" " Charleston	50 "	
" " Macon	97 "	
" " Montgomery	116 "	
" " Mobile	138 "	
" " New Orleans	172 "	

And all the places on this an
munication in proportion to dist

OFFICE
OF THE NORTH
Mutual Insurance
RALEIGH
Second Floor, Smith's Block,
Office.

OFFICE
OF THE NORTH
Mutual Life Insuran
RALEIGH
Opposite the Post Office—
Hall.

BANK OF CAP
DISCOUNT DAY.
Board Meets at 11
BANKING HOURS FI
W. H. JONES,
F. C. HILL, Pe
Exchange, Baltimore, Philad
1 per ct. premium.
Virginia and South Carolina
the denomination of $5 and up

BANK OF THE
OFFICERS OF T
Geo. W. Mordecai, Presi
Charles Dewey, Casher,
Seymour W. Whiting, Te
Daniel Dufre, Bookkeeper
Thos. W. Dewey, Clerk.
Hours of business from 10
DISCOUNT DAY, W
Board of Directors mee
BANK RATES FOR SELLI
Sight Checks on New York 1
" " " Philadelphia 1
" " " Baltimore 1
Notes of the South Carolina
received.

J. D. WILL
FORWARDING AND
MERCHA
FAYETTEV
NORTH CARO
July 19th, 1850.